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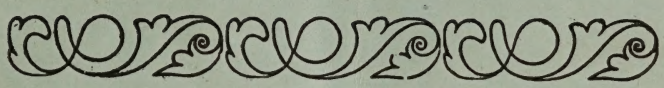
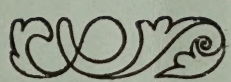
# Liberia's Ultimate Ideal



BY EDWIN BARCLAY



Monrovia, Liberia:
College of West Africa Press
June, 1916.

Address

When, Fellow Citizens, twelve months ago we assembled upon a similar occassion and in this Temple dedicated to Him who for centuries, both in prophecy and by affirmation, has been extolled as the Prince of Peace, and whose precepts the civilised nations of the world pretend to follow, none of us then present would have dared predict that, within one short week from that date, the world would have been visited with the greatest calamity which has ever befallen it.

It is true, that far-distant murmurings of the brewing storm were then distinctly heard; but the world believed, nay, had the confidential assurance that they to whom the guardianship of civilisation had been entrusted, would have found, as they heretofore have been able to find, means of peaceful accommodation. Needless it is for me to remark that this confidence has not remained unshaken, nor to comment upon the obvious fact that humanity is overwhelmed in the magnitude of this great conflict. The world is at war! The guardians of civilisation have surrendered themselves to the influences of primordial instincts, and Chaos reigns!

What is the significance of this event? What is its significance to all the world? And, to us Liberians especially, what does it portend? Surely this great antinomy may not be explained as a mere ebullition of warlike passion: surely it may not be interpreted as a petty strife for commercial opportunity and freedom of the sea! No! It is a fight for the maintenance of those eternal values which underlie human progress: it is a struggle between conflicting ideals: it is at bottom a conflict of antagonistic spiritual forces!

And this reflection has led me to consider, whether all human endeavour, through all ages, and for all races has not been, after all, but unconscious attempts to comprehend and to realise these eternal values: and, whether on this anniversary of a momentous event in our national history we may not, as a people, take as a theme for our reflections:

## THE INFLUENCE OF SPIRITUAL IDEALS IN THE LIFE OF A NATION.

There are periods in the life of every people when the principles upon which their social polity rests and by which their political conduct is determined, require revision and restatement. This necessity is not adventitious; rather, it is fundamental. It is the concomitant of racial and national progress. It rises from sources deeper than the surface of racial and national life. It resolves itself into a question of ideals. It is the outcome of a nation's unconscious demand for spiritual adjustments.

If a people are endowed with or have developed sagacious political instincts: if they quickly recognise these epochs, and adjust themselves to such new conditions as an enlarged life and a changing political outlook produce: if they succeed in sensing,—in correctly interpreting this need, and in translating their interpretation into sensible action, they are enabled to perpetuate themselves and to maintain and improve their status. Where they fail in this they sink into decay or are swept into oblivion.

With the progress of civilisation, and the birth of those attendant complexities which arise in the multitudinous reciprocal relationships of independent states, this periodic necessity for restating the national *credo*, broadens into one of racial or ethnic scope. It transcends the limits of a single state, and is followed by the grouping of cognate race-entities. But it is only when this grouping follows the line of racial or cultural cleavage, that strong, enduring states and empires are built up. Superficially, this tendency to agglomerate seems to be stimulated by artificial causes,—the preservation of the balance of political force. Fundamentally, however, it springs from an identity of ideals, similarity of soul, a coincidence of ambitions and aspirations, and is the outgrowth of humanity's unconscious demand that the spiritual forces of its varying and sometimes antagonistic elements should be held in equipoise. The history of the world thus interpreted, becomes a record of humanity's reaching forth after the spiritually ideal.

In the welter of the present European conflict, amidst the clang of armaments, the clash of opinions, the infinite variety of assigned causes of, and imputed responsiblity for this world calamity, we who are so vitally interested in the final results of its event, may be permitted to question its meaning and to enquire why, after so many years of peaceful progress, does civilisation now appear morally bankrupt? Why science, whose greatest triumphs have been achieved under the calm ægis of world repose should now be prostituted to murder? And why mankind in its hundreds of thousands must needs be sacrificed—a gory holocuast on the altars of the Moloch of war?

Looking merely along the surface of current world events, one, perhaps, finds in this frightful cataclasm naught but the clashing of petty rival ambitions. But should we probe more deeply beneath appearances and protestations, we should discover the immanence of one of those periodic epochs just mentioned. This recurrent need, in the present

instance, has transcended the bounds of a single state or of individual empires. It has become world-wide in its scope, and embraces in its sweep the basal cultural ideals of christendom. Apprehending in this sense the significance of the present conflict, we must interpret it as a readjustment, through physical strife, of the spiritual bases of civilisation.

True it is that present day tendencies are apparently materialistic in their ordinary manifestations, both in communities and in individuals: true, also, is it that all activity, whether in politics, art, science, literature or religion displays itself in the acquirement of gain in some one or other of its numerous forms. Nevertheless, underneath and stronger than all the superficial currents which seem to impel humanity towards the mælstrom of destruction, flows the undertow of spiritual influences which must neutralise and restrain the powerful sweep of material agencies. Thus it comes about that I see in present world-conditions civilisation's attempt at reaching a new formula for its basic principles; its search for a new line along which shall be traced its future course of progress; its endeavours at uplifting new ideals to reach after. These efforts, as in past ages they have always been, are now pursued through turmoil and strife. These essays are being written upon the heart of humanity in blood, in fire, with pens of flaming steel. Such preoccupations cannot but profoundly affect, not only those immediately engaged in the necessary attempts at readjustment, but also those people, like us Liberians, who though not of the same ethnic stock as the recognised guardians of civilisation, nevertheless, by virture of the political and religious ideals we profess, move within the orbit of their cultural influence.

But while this may be true, any declaration of the new faith, whenever made, will not, cannot operate amongst all nations with colourless uniformity. There will be differentiations in its adaptation to the needs of these nations according in large measure with distinctions of race and of traditions. Wherefore it becomes evident that each national unit, whilst accepting in broad outline the general principles upon which the life of the world shall hereafter run, must seek within itself for its means of self-adjustment to the new creed.

How does this fact appeal to us? In what manner shall it affects us? Should we not feel, Fellow Citizens, that we too have reached a period when we must, in justice to ourselves, and in justice to our race, re-examine our social polity, and restate our formulæ of political conduct? Is it not true that in the face of such an awful and inspiring re-

sponsiblity as is ours, it is incumbent upon us to evolve from our life, our genius and our soul the means of adjustment to new conditions?

It has been said of the Negro that he has never founded a civilisation; has never produced a literature; never suggested a creed; will never civilise himself: and that nothing can improve him but cross-breeding and catching hold of some foreign but superior creed. Whether or not the historical basis of this remark be well-founded, we are not now concerned. But, for argument sake, admitting its truth, may we not explain the fact by the suggestion that the Negro has not yet found his soul? Races and nations possess a composite soul which is no less immortal than the souls of their individual units. But until they become conscious of the possession and follow its suggestions, they neither make for themselves a place in van of human progress, nor contribute anything to the uplift of mankind.

One outstanding fact of human history is the permanency of racial instincts and character. These are but manifestations of the race-soul. It is by the functioning of its soul that a race comes to sense its needs and to realise its more or less conscious aspirations. No institution, no faith, no political formula which does not take its rise out of the conscious needs of a people, which is not demanded by the character of its soul as developed by its traditions and expanded by its experiences, can ever be of permanent worth or of material advantage in the final realisation of its destiny. Even when such institutions have been imposed upon them, or have been accepted by them *in principle*, they have always had to undergo modifications in accordance with the demands of the genius of the race, or have become moribund so soon as the alien support is removed.

The manner in which Christianity has been propagated amongst different peoples is a case in point. The original design of this faith was the emancipation of the Hebrew race from the shackels of Mosaic tradition, and to broaden the ethical basis of Judaism. When we follow its expansion into the gentile world, two striking facts force themselves upon our observation. (1) That the only man capable of acceptably expounding this faith to the non-Jewish world was Paul of Tarsus, a Hebrew on the paternal side, indeed, but one who had received his interlectual impulses from his greek mother and his greek environment. (2) That wherever the faith was propagated it had to be chrystalised into a formula assimilated to the genius of the people to whom it was carried. There is no need for me to quote specific incidents in illustration of these

facts. They lie patent upon the pages of history. The reference is, however, sufficient as shewing that the genius, the intellectual tendencies, in a word, the soul of a people is the most important factor in their acceptance or rejection of any formulary.

But spiritual ideals must not be confounded with religion merely; for religion is but one of the formulated expressions of spiritual impulse: and God, the foundation upon which nearly all religious cults are reared, but a spiritual concept which visualises for a race its highest ideals and aspirations. This explains why religion has in all ages so deeply influenced human history; and why, as man changes his philosophical attitude and advances in intellectual culture, it has to be progressively purified by those ultimate spiritual ideals, the attainment of which humanity is constantly attempting.

(2)

I sometimes like to think that all the material forces which man has brought to his aid by the exploration and exploitation of nature, are but by-products of a process of spiritual experimentation after that ideal which the ancient Greeks conceived of under the concept of the Beautiful, the Harmonious, the absolutely Virtuous and Good. If we should enquire how this process has operated among and affected the nations, we would see its influence in the pyramids of Egypt; in the theocracy of the Hebrews; in the speculative intellectuality of the ancient Greeks; in the Romans' strong sense of law; in the liberty-worship of the Teutons; in the artistic impulses of the Latins. Under its influence Anthens rose to power, and made free by the intellectual liberty of her citizenship, challenged at the battle of Platæa the innumerable hosts of Persia. There, by her victory, she decided for all time that the determining factor in government should no longer be the classes but the masses, and inspired succeeding generations with the Spirit of Democracy. Refined by its purifying fires, Judaism bequeathed to all ages the illuminating personality of Jesus Christ and His transcendant ethical standards. Moved by its impulse the Romans centralised around the worship of the Imperator, and having spread throughout the then known world, bestowed upon succeeding generations the impulse towards political order. The Teutons combining the intellectuality of Greece with the materialism of Rome, have energised these impulses by the spiritual idea underlying the concepts *Wodin* and *Thor*, have developed the spirit of organisation, and have built upon the resultant product an imperialism founded upon individual fitness and national efficiency

And so it has happened that each people who have attained racial

self-consciousness have tended to develop themselves into a nation around some central idea, either religious or philosophical, but fundamentally spiritual, and have accomplished their destiny under its dominance.

Nevertheless, it is only in recent centuries that those who lead the van of human progress have come to realise that in the march of human endeavour they are, perhaps, not only leading their own congeries, but are also hewing out a broad highway which other races, following them, must traverse; and that, therefore, they are setting up standards by which they must be judged, and bequeathing ideals the materialisation of which must profoundly react upon themselves. In this fact we find another confirmation of the operation of spiritual forces among nations; we see here the birth of a dim conception of that highly spiritual idea, the Brotherhood of Man, and the moral responsibility of race.

This view though clearly realised, has, notwithstanding, not received full and unqualified acceptance by the dominant races. The lust for the *imperium* is not founded upon the conviction that Germany shall uplift the world, but that the world must be influenced by teutonic kultur for the benefit of Teutons: not that anglo-saxon culture (which after all, so far as other races are concerned. is but a slight variant of teutonic *kultur*) shall diffuse its underlying spiritual essence, among what are variously styled inferior or subject races, but rather that the *Bretwalda*, the overlordship of the world shall ensure the perpetual dominance of the Anglo-Saxon. This may be sensed in the pious invocation which the English often chant to the spirit of Imperalism.:

"Wider still, and wider shall thy bounds be set, God who made thee mighty make thee mightier yet."

A recent editorial in the *Sierra Leone Weekly News* is pertinent in this connection. Says the Editor:

"We ask, and we ask, again, and we shall continue to ask until we get an answer, While Germany is writing about England, and England and France are locked together in friendly thoughts, and share with each other bright prospects of their future after the war, are they thinking of the weaker races at all? We have not seen any where," he continues, "in English and French journals any articulate statements, any earnest pleadings that the current view among rulers at far ends of the Empire that the weaker races exist only for exploitation, shall have no countenance after the war, in the central places of administration: That man shall be developed upon liberal lines in Africa: And that in all those places of the Empire where people differ from the white man in color, the people shall have just dues,

shall be assisted upwards, and made to realise that they themselves are somebodies upon God's earth."

And, fellow Citizens, he will never see any such statements and pleadings in the quarters where he has so far vainly looked for and expected them. And why? Let the answer be deduced from an interview with a French socialist Editor, reported by Ex-Senator Beveridge of the United States.

This socialistic imperialist had been discussing with Mr. Beveridge the line along which the adjustment of Europe shall proceed after the war. The grand principle enunciated by him was:

"That all peoples who belong together by blood, ideals and desire, shall be put together: nations shall be formed on these just lines instead of on the arbitrary, unnatural and swordtraced lines that now exist. Then, said he, this being done let all these nations stay at home and attend to their own business,—no expansion, no wars, no foolish ambitions to cause them.

"Where, in applying this principle, do the people of Morocco, Algiers and other colonial possessions, come in?" enquired the Senator.

Note the significant reply:

"When I refer to the great principle that people of common blood and common ideals have a right to live together unmolested, and to work out their own destiny, I do not apply it to peoples whose history does not show that they have any destinies to work out, or any conscious intention of working out any destiny they may be said to have. These people cannotbe permitted to keep down the average sum of human progress for merely sentimental reasons. They must be led on the road of progress by the countries which are really travelling that road." (*sic.*)

Let us, fellow citizens, consider what this means, and see in what manner it applies to us: It means that that grand principle of international *laisser faire* shall apply only as between European nations. Nobody else counts. Every other peoples may be exploited in the interest of a problematic progress. Senegalese, Berbers, Tonkinoise, and Congolese, notwithstanding differences of blood, ideals and destiny must all be made Frenchmen, forsooth, because they have no destiny, which Europe chooses to recognise, and "no conscious intention of working out any destiny that they may be said to have," so far as Europe can see. Ponder and understand. Mark you, this is not the isolated expression of an irresponsible socialist. The same idea has been put forward by practical men of affairs, by statesmen, diplomatists, captains of industry and philosophers. In fact it is the unconscious creed of European imperialism.

Shall we however, fellow citizens, cavil at this? Shall we be appalled at this quibbling injustice,—this callous indifference to the fate of other oppressed peoples in the face of this conflict which threatens the very life of nations? Of course not. And why? Because it is rationally just and natural. Because it is founded upon the ineradicable antagon-

ism which exists between races of different origin. Because it establishes beyond a doubt that just as the Negro race, deep in its own consciousness is indifferent whether England assassinates Germany or Germany cuts the throat of England, so are they in their inner hearts indifferent to the ultimate fate of the Negro. Because it suggests to us this important reflection, that we shall never be truly free either as a Race or a Nation, whilst we accept without qualification the tutelage of a foreign people. Because we shall never develop national or a racial self-respect and self-consciousness so long as our soul is lulled to sleep by the religious, political and spiritual narcotics continually fed to us. Because we should see in this sentiment a reason why we should seize our charter of racial freedom, and a suggestion, unintentional perhaps, that we work out our own destiny in accord with the spiritual instinct, the genius of our race. Is not Japan a striking confirmation of this view? And is not Poland another illustration to point the moral?

My intent so far, fellow citizens, has been to show, first, that all human progress is founded upon some fundamental spiritual ideal, more or less consciously apprehended and understood. That the impulses generated by the attempt to realise this ideal drives a people to achieve racial or national success, and to make some contribution to the progress of mankind. That, nevertheless, each race in conserving this end, stands alone in jealous antagonism to every other race whose ideals do not approach its own in identity, and unconsciously determines that such dissimilar races shall either be repressed or isolated.

> "Why should they live? Fate has writ large its doom for them;
> "Lands for the whites! let the black fellows die!"

It is necessary for us, in determining what our destiny is, and in reaching the forumla by means of which we shall realise it and achieve national success, to recognise these facts as the fundamental condition of race-life. The Negro, more so than any other race, stands, as regards all other peoples, and with respect to his own ideals, in tragic isolation. Like a lonely prilgrim in an untravelled waste, spiritually, he scans a blank horizon. By a providence which he is yet unable to fathom, thrown into contact with other races, he joins in their life, he lives under their laws, and apparently he imbibes their culture. But, after all, is the hand of human brotherhood ever held out to him? is he ever inspired by them to assert his essential equality of manhood? Look around you, wherever he may be found,—whether in America the land of his exile, or in Africa his ancestral home, is not his very submission regarded as the hall mark of inferiority, and as a strong reason why

he should be controlled; or,as the aliens put it, guided along the line of true progress, which being interpreted, means the line of economic political and spiritual subserviency? And is he not utilised to fasten upon himself most securely the fetters of this dominance?

Nevertheless, the influence of this contact and of these circumstances cannot be eradicated. An overruling power which controls human destiny, and which orders the life of Races and Nations, has put the Negro race as it were into a cultural melting-pot, whence it shall come forth, strengthed by its experiences, knowing itself, refined and purified! It has been subjected to centuries of dominance in order that it may justly become the heritor of all that is best in the variety of cultures which it has perforce imbibed: not for purposes of mere imperialism, but through this, for the nobler, the more highly spiritual purpose of service,—service not in the sense of menial subserviency, but in the broader conception of helpfulness, human uplift and racial advancement founded upon an altruism not dictated by mere convenience.

This fact should make a strong appeal to us Liberians: for it is into our hands that God has placed the destinies of the people of West Africa. It is only through us, and the by influences radiating from this land that the ideals of these people may be uplifted. All along this coast, from Cape Verde to Cape Town the dominant note sounded by those who have seized the racial patrimony is *suppression*. It is only in Liberia that we may think of *expansion*. Elsewhere we hear the dolorus note of *oppression*, is only here that we may hold out and they may grasp the hope of *emancipation*. We, fellow citizens, are the instruments through which the unvoiced, the inarticulate aspirations of millions of our race may find utterance Here is the point where the centralising ideals shall bud forth and draw all Africa to it. Here is whence the Negro's message to the world and to humanity should spring.

But the precedent condition upon which Liberia may predicate her moral and incontestable right to lead the people of West Africa in the march of political and social emancipation is that Liberians should first realise that such is their destiny. For only in our virtuous life, in our purity of government, in our physical fitness and efficiency, in our material progress, and in our spiritual elevation can we justify our claim. When we shall have laid aside sectional bickerings; when our public men shall have understood that they must serve public and not private, catholic and not provincial ends; when each public official shall come to feel that the position he fills is for the purpose of public service and not for private gain; when our masses shall have grasped

the idea that they deserve only the government which they tolerate, and that they must tolerate only such government as they deserve; when these masses shall have developed public feeling, public spirit and through these a public opinion, outspoken in its legitimate protests; and equally outspoken in its support of those who deserve confidence; when these masses as a unit become conscious that Liberia has been established and has been maintained for a definite purpose; when in short, Liberians shall have developed self-confidence and a national ideal, then and then only shall we acquire that spiritual strength and physical force which will enable us to make a successful appeal to the wider Africa and to stand upright in the face of the world and proclaim ourselves thea champions of Africa's freedom! Then shall we be counted a factor in the world's policy concerning Africa, and not be continually annoyed with impertinent and outrageous demands, and not be merely tolerated as an unsightly rubbish heap in an otherwise beautiful landscape.

Think not, fellow citizens, that we will be permitted to realise such a destiny unmolested. We shall have to fight for it! Remember, the Kingdom of Heaven,—which for us should mean our realised ultimate ideals,—suffereth violence, and only the violent seize it by storm. Already we know that Liberia is regarded as a danger spot in West Africa. For it is clearly realised that if the ideals we profess, and the aspirations which each true patriot amongst us cherishes, become also the aspirations and ideals of the peoples of West Africa, the tenure of alien domination in this section of the world will be short indeed. Hence we may understand why a strong Liberia is not desired. For a strong Liberia would be a rallying point for all the discontented elements of West Africa. But, for us, this is valid reason why we should become strong; and why we should be careful of the gift-bearing imperialists.

I speak as a Liberian to Liberians. I do not, in the face of history, I could not preach the doctrine of race-hatred. Rather, I seek to stimulate national self-consciousness and racial self-respect. I desire that the slumbering souls of a people who were great in the dim shadows of the earth's youth, and who if they should awaken to their opportunities would be, must be great in the immediate future, should be aroused. Ours, fellow citizens, is a great race; great in its past achievements, great in its future prospects, great in its powers of assimilation, and, above all, great in its persistency. Let us realise this, and that we too have some message for the world, and all things else shall be added unto us.

The question yet remains: Around what ideal shall we centralise? Shall it be religious or shall it be one more widely spiritual? Natural

ly, says the christian Liberian, "We would centralise around the concepts of our faith." But to the practical Liberian statesman, who knows that the christian sectaries form the least numerous of the religious cults in Liberia: to that statesman who, because he is a christian does not for that reason close his eyes, to the fact that Islam, the religion of self-surrender (a virtue which the christians hereabouts do not practice to any great extent), is in our national life an increasingly aggressive factor, which by its inherent character makes a strong appeal to the spiritual sympathies of our people both christian and pagan: to that statesman who recognises that there is a larger proportion of our population which is neither christian nor mussulman and which must be uplifted and strengthened, the following suggestions might not be out of place: 1. Remember the Turkish Empire.

These people have existed in Europe as a factor to be counted with upwards of four centuries. They are now engaged in a life and death struggle for existence. The decay of this Empire is not due primarily to external aggressions; rather, aggression has been facilitated, and encouraged if not invited by the existence of an internal antagonism of spiritual ideals. The two factors in this strife have been Islam and Christianity. Christian Europe has interfered to "protect" the christian subjects of the Empire and often to stir them into revolt against the so-called unspeakable Turk. Mark the moral. We have to face the possibility that the bulk of the population of Liberia will become eventually Mohammedan. This will be brought about by two causes: (1) Because Christianity does not present a solid front in its fight for spiritual dominance. She is divided against herself, and has at the same time to fight, not only external effects of her rival's propaganda, but also the subtile appeal which Islam by its easier morality and wider tolerance makes to the professors of Christism. And (2) because the christian propaganda is neither sufficiently aggressive nor progressive. The churches being content, it appears, to hug the coast line. Notwithstanding this, there will always be a body of christians here; but, for the reasons stated above, it is likely that the government will pass from the hands of the christians into the hands of the mussulmen. In such circumstances what would prevent the repetition here of Turkey's experience? Let us not wreck ourselves upon the reef of religious bigotry and intolerance.

2. Let us develop a Liberian culture.

Within seven years of to-day Liberia will have completed a century of existence. We are accustomed to hear from all sides, even from the

stranger within our gates, that through all that period she has been an unqualified failure. She is used, even by Negroes, as an example to adorn the tale of Negro incapacity, and to point the moral of Negro shiftlessness. However unjust these aspersions may be, and whatever we may have accomplished in circumstances in which no other peoples have ever been placed, there still remains much,- very much more for us to do. National life is a continuing progression, and nothing which is, is satisfactory. There must however be within the nation some impelling force, —some energising power driving it forward in its attempt at attaining perfection. Without this it stagnates and decays. This impelling force is its spiritual ideals, its conscious apprehension of the fact that it has a destiny. The progressive movement is brought about by its endeavours to realise this destiny. But the impulse must be stimulated. It will not rise spontaneously.

It is usual for the older men of the country, those who have its future at heart, to lament the fact that the younger generation drifts, --that it does not seem to have any conscious direction. But how can it, when it has no compass, no chart? It is to you fathers of the country, to whom we look for guidance. Yours it is to fix the ideals and to apply the stimulus. You who carry the history of the country and of the race in your heads, you who have had large experience with the practical affairs of the State, it is yours to lay the foundation of this Liberian culture. Transfer these histories these reminiscences, these memoirs to paper, formulate and publish by lectures, through the press, in pamphlets your theories and your philosophies. Interpret for us the native cnlts, tell us why we are here; set us examples of public spirit; *show us*, as you often try to *tell* us, that money is not the be-all and end-all of *your* existence; set up for us the ultimate ideal, feed us with these in season and out of season and your sons will no longer drift. They shall march forward with uplifted eyes and shoulders squared, to the hills whence cometh their racial and national salvation. They will no longer make you ashamed.

And what of you, ye to whom immediately has been entrusted the leadership of the State, what will you contribute to this Liberian culture? Are you still content to waste energy in unnecessary, impossible and unprofitable political manipulations, compromises and make-shifts? Down with the politics, say I, and give us public schools wherein the principles of this Liberian culture may be inculcated and from the portals of which they may be disseminated! Give us cities whose streets do not reek with the pestiferous odors of malaria and decaying vegitation; then shall we proceed to spiritual excellence by way of physical

cleanliness. Expel that virus of administrative decentralisation which inoculates every little hamlet of twenty-five souls and impels it to set up a government of its own. Give us national solidarity by way of administrative centralisation. Down with the eleemosynary idea! then we shall no longer witness the shameful and reproachful spectacle of strangers and foreigners paving our public thoroughfares at their own expense in order that they may have decent approaches to their residences. Above all, stimulate our patriotism by encouraging those citizens who can do things in literature, in art, industry and in other avenues of human and national life.

3. Let us equip ourselves more thoroughly in the science of government.

4. Let us endeavour to qualify and perfect ourselves in the applied sciences.

5. Let us by economies apply these sciences to industry, to the development of the economic life of the country and to its *defensive military needs.*

6. Let the civilised population understand more clearly now than ever before, that they govern not only for themselves alone but also for the uncivilised peoples as well.

Then shall we not only attain our ideals but will also develop the physical force necessary to maintain, to realise and to uphold them, and to work out unmolested our destiny of service to Africa and to humanity.

The world-tumult now raging, fellow citizens, will in time subside. Armies, such as may be left of them, will be demobilised and disbanded. The readjustment of world-affairs will then be undertaken, and Africa will pay the price. Where shall we stand when the day of reckoning comes? Who will plead for the sore distressed of our Fatherland? Who will permit the African opportunity or allow him the right to suggest what shall be done with his country? Who in Africa is qualified to demand that justice shall be done, and that they who broke the peace, and they alone, should pay the penalty? Fellow citizens, this is *not* the last war that civilsation will tolerate. And mark you, Africa is not yet wholly and definitely partitioned. Trials are yet in store for her, and she will have to work out her own salvation, emancipation and protection. Can she do it? Will she do it? Let these questions be addressed to himself by every Liberian. Let

him ponder upon them. Let him digest them. Let him deduce the obvious conclusion.

Africa, Fellow Citizens, will not be saved by prayer, fasting and psalm-singing alone. Nor yet will she attain emancipation by weeping and wailing in the haunts of oppression and injustice. By the spiritual force of her awakened consciousness; by her acquirement of the physical incidents of force; by her applying to practical purposes those sciences which alone can give her mastery, will she reach salvation. A struggle is immanent. Who will lead? Can we? Shall we? Awake, O Liberians, arouse your soul from its century's sleep! Look towards the east and behold the coming dawn! Hearken, heed! And gird ye for the fight!

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